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# NETWORK TELEVISION AND MAJOR NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF THE 1965 DOMINICAN CRISIS

BY

RUSSELL F. HARNEY

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS
(Journalism)

at the UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

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#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to acknowledge the guidance, assistance, and, in many instances, infinite patience proffered me by Professor Vernon Stone of the School of Journalism. He freely gave his time and knowledge.

There are others whose assistance has made this thesis possible. Their contributions in the research and writing phases have been considerable. Specifically, I thank

- the various executives and librarians of the three television networks, ABC, CBS, and NBC, who provided access to their news records in New York.
- Mrs. Barbara Kaiser of the Wisconsin Historical Library for her many gracious acts of cooperation in this project.
- Mrs. Lloyd Renneberg and Mrs. Harriet Kukowski, my typists, whose patience, understanding, and professionalism in the preparation of manuscripts have been invaluable.

Finally, I also must acknowledge the forbearance and consideration of my wife, Cathy, who somehow juggled the intricacies of running a household and caring for four sons with my sometimes demanding schedules.

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapte		Page
I.	THE PROBLEM	1
II.	METHOD	9
III.	RESULTS	14
	Newspaper-Television Comparison	15
	Television's Use of Visual Materials	17
IV.	SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION	26
APPEND	tces	34
	I. WORKSHEETS AND 90 MAJOR ITEMS OF	35
	INTEREST	33
	II. CHRONOLOGY OF MAJOR EVENTS IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC CRISIS	48

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# LIST OF TABLES

Cable		Page
1.	Extent to Which Three Major Newspapers and	
	the Three Television Networks Reported	
	Selected Events of a Major International	
	News Story, the 1965 Dominican Crisis	. 16
2.	Use of Visual Materials by Network	
	Television and Percentage of Selected	
	Events of a Major News Story Reported	. 18
3.	Television Network Newsfilm Content as it	
	Contributed to the Coverage of Selected	
	Events of a Major News Story	. 23

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#### CHAPTER I

#### THE PROBLEM

A growing segment of the American public depends primarily on network television for news of major national and international events. However, little research has been published which addresses itself to the completeness of the coverage given major events by television news editors in relation to coverage offered by editors of the printed media. One problem to be explored in this study is to what extent are those individuals who rely on network television offered the major points of information in a "top-interest" news story as compared to individuals who read the front page of a major metropolitan newspaper.

The similarity between a televised newscast and the front page of a newspaper was mentioned recently by television newsman Walter Cronkite when he described his own program as "an electronic front page."

There is a growing body of evidence that a significant segment of the public is dependent on television news.

Many studies offer comparisons of the media as

Anon., Time, October 14, 1966, p. 77.

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Annals, Shan, Squares 141 1990, pp. 77,

primary sources of news. The inferences drawn from these comparisons have been strongly debated. To quote Fuchs.

"It seems that for every release from the Television
Information Office, we receive an equal and opposite set of 'empirical' proofs from a newspaper spokesman."

The American Newspaper Publishers Association (ANPA) had disputed the results of the A. C. Neilsen Company's national report on television viewing habits. The ANPA was buttressed by the Alfred Politz Media Studies, which in turn were discredited by a television research team. 4

Notwithstanding the debate that clouds the issue.

certain facts on the growth of television emphasize the

scope of the problem. For instance, in 1950 there were 97

television stations broadcasting to 3.8 million homes;

today there are 773 stations beamed into 54.8 million

homes. This expansion has presented a definite challenge

to the newspapers as primary sources of information.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Douglas A. Fuchs, "The Newspaper-Television Debate: Why It Is Not Telling Us Much." <u>Columbia Journalism Review</u>, 5, No. 4 (1966), p. 35.

<sup>3</sup>Anon., "ANPA Brands TV's Figures False." Broadcasting, 72, No. 18 (1967), p. 23.

Anon., "CBS Researchers Hit 'Life' Study," Broadcasting, 71, No. 26 (1966), p. 35.

<sup>5</sup>Anon., "The Dimensions of Broadcasting." Broadcasting (1967 Yearbook), p. 8.

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since 1959, the opinion research firm of Elmo Roper and Associates (Roper Research Associates) has compiled statistics on media usage habits. Commissioned by the National Association of Broadcasters through its Television Information Office, the studies have focused on the growing popularity of television, vis-a-vis radio and the printed media. For example, one report indicates that the percentage of people getting "most" of their news of world affairs from television had grown from 51 per cent in 1959 to 64 per cent in 1967. During the same period, the report continues, those respondents obtaining "most" of their news from newspapers had shown a slight decrease from 57 to 55 per cent.

On the other hand, the ANPA commissioned a 1967 study by Opinion Research Corporation that determined of every five respondents on any given day, "four used newspapers as a news source; three used television as a news source; three used radio as a news source."

Available literature contains other studies in which the Roper reports have been faulted. Carter and Greenberg

Burns W. Roper, Emerging Profiles of Television and Other Mass Media: Public Attitudes 1959-1967 (New York: Television Information Office, 1967), p. 7.

<sup>7</sup>Anon., "ANPA Brands TV's Figures False,"
Broadcasting, 72, No. 18 (1967), p. 23.

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used Roper's method in conducting their own 1964 survey in San Jose. California. There was one major change.

Although the same questions were used in many instances, the respondents were limited to one answer only.

Substantial differences were obtained.8

	Roper	Carter and Greenberg
Newspapers Television Radio Magazines	55% 64 28	44% 32 14
Other People	all the 200 personness are considered	S S source contribution - solver that is the segment of the strangement
	1587	100%

In a 1961-62 study, Westley and Severin sampled Wisconsin residents and determined that 45 per cent preferred newspapers as the most important news source. Television was preferred by 31 per cent while 24 per cent selected radio as their news source. The close correlation of these last two studies suggests that, when limited to only one choice, more of the public turn to newspapers than to television as a source of information.

It appears safe here to conclude that network television is definitely a primary source of world news for

<sup>8</sup>R. F. Carter and B. S. Greenberg, "Newspapers or Television: Which Do You Believe?" <u>Journalism Quarterly</u>, 42 (1965), p. 29.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>B. H. Westley and W. J. Severin, "Some Correlations of Media Credibility," <u>Journalism Quarterly</u>, 41 (1964), p. 333.

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many Americans and at least a secondary source for many more.

Returning to the problem of the extent of coverage offered by the television networks. Cronkite has said that the public needs "a lot more (news) than television can communicate." Elmer Lower, 11 Howard K. Smith, 12 and Robert Kintner 13 concur and point to responsible daily newspapers as the needed supplement.

Comparing broadcast and print media, John Chancellor has said. "Newspapers try to transmit facts but television is the transmission of experience in its rawest form." 14

The advantages offered by television are speed, audiovisual presentation, and network alliances. Its disadvantages include: (1) the inflexible news hole of the evening news telecast, and (2) the lack of record for viewer referral. In addition, it has been argued that the network news editor needs to "balance ratings, sponsors and budget on the one hand and the responsibility to inform the

<sup>10</sup> Anon., Time. February 26, 1965, p. 52.

<sup>11</sup> Elmer Lower. "Editing for the Nation." World Business (1967). p. 31.

<sup>12</sup> Howard K. Smith, "Television in the Nation's Service," <u>Vital Speeches</u>, 32 (1965), p. 79.

<sup>13&</sup>lt;sub>R. E.</sub> Kintner, "Broadcasting and the News," Harpers, 230 (1965), pp. 49-55.

<sup>14</sup> Anon., Time. October 14, 1966, p. 75.

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public on the other. "15

The metropolitan newspaper editor shares the responsibility of informing the public. Because of the newspaper's widespread circulation, the responsibility of disseminating major national and international news is emphasized. National and international news, then, are areas where a study can be conducted that compares newspapers and television newscasts as sources of information. Content analysis of the coverage afforded this type of "top-interest" news story will provide a basis for studying the first problem—that of extent of coverage offered by each medium.

The second problem dealt with by this study concerns the possible effect on television news content of the use of visual materials. In a "top-interest" news story, does the availability of visual material detract from reporting the major points of information?

The television industry itself appears divided on the issue. Eric Sevareid has said that at one time "an idea wasn't news because you couldn't put a camera on it." Sig Mickelson said, "Sometimes the main theme of a news story becomes buried in a mass of unrelated pictures . . . consequently the news goes one way, the picture the

<sup>15</sup> Jack Kinkel. "When the Tail Wags the Dog." Saturday Review, March 12, 1966, p. 140.

<sup>16</sup> Eric Sevareid, "Politics and the Press," Nieman Reports, 21, No. 2 (1967), p. 20.

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other."17

It has also been argued that sometimes minutes spent on a filmed feature report, however worthwhile in itself, will cause hard news to be omitted or barely touched. In addition, the economic pressures of a network's investment in sending a camera team to a story locale may prompt an editor to use its reports whether or not there is a real story. 19

On the other hand, a 1963 compilation of various studies concerning television news practices quotes the television newsmen interviewed as being firmly convinced that they present "more honest, unbiased, balanced reporting than do newspapers." 20

A definitive answer to the problem of a visual material effect is difficult to isolate. The content of any newscast has an intentional supplement of film and video tape to more forcefully bring the story to the viewer. But does this supplemental role of visuals expand to where the use of film takes priority over the full reporting of an event?

A content analysis of the network television coverage

<sup>17</sup> Sig Mickelson, "Growth of Television News, 1946-1957," Journalism Quarterly, 34, No. 3 (1957), p. 308.

<sup>18</sup> Kinkel, op. cit.

<sup>19</sup> mid.

<sup>20</sup> Jack Lyle and Walter Wilcox, "Television News; An Interim Report," <u>Journal of Broadcasting</u>, 7, No. 2 (1963), p. 165.

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of a national interest story and of the coverage offered on the front pages of major metropolitan daily newspapers would be expected to show a relationship. The analysis could show a higher, a similar, or a lesser percentage of events reported by one medium than the other. The relationship would then be checked to determine what effect the amount of visual materials employed by television had on the percentage of events reported by that medium.

Opinions of various leaders in the media and elsewhere have been cited accusing television of failing to
fully report major news in deference to the use of visual
materials. Others have denied this. However, all statements that concern this issue share one characteristic--a
lack of supporting empirical data. The purpose of this
study was to seek evidence bearing on the problems posed by
these observations.

In summary, the two problems addressed by this study were (1) the relative extent of coverage given a national or international news story by the front pages of major newspapers and by network television, and (2) the relationship between television's use of visual materials and its reporting of the major points of information of a "top-interest" news event.

Content analysis was selected as the approach to collecting data bearing on these two problems.

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#### CHAPTER II

#### METHOD

In developing an appropriate method for comparing the news content of the print and broadcast media, the first objective was to isolate a major news event that would fulfill three basic criteria.

The first criterion was that the event should be national or international in scope to ensure major media interest. Second, the event should have remained a "top-interest" story over a long enough period of time to show any trends and to provide a wide base for analysis, interpretation, and conclusions. The third criterion in selecting the event could be called "centralization of the major source of news." If all media representatives are geographically restricted to one area and given access to limited sources of news, there should be a high correlation of observations. A wide geographical separation of simultaneous occurring events could possibly introduce an artifact into the study. The news assignment desk might select the more easily accessible event to cover than reroute correspondents to the more newsworthy event.

The event selected for analysis in this study was the 1965 crisis in the Dominican Republic. This internal

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disruption ultimately involved a military commitment by the United States of some 35,000 men. The controversial role played by the United States ensured the international importance of the story and resulted in coverage by approximately 300 on-scene correspondents.

The crisis had a clearly defined beginning on April 24, 1965, and remained a top interest story until a workable cease-fire agreement was reached 26 days later.

Finally, the crisis was geographically restricted to the capital city of Santo Domingo for crisis news; to Washington, D. C., for policy developments in the United States administration and in the Organization of American States (OAS); and to New York City for developments in the United Nations.

After the event was selected, a non-content historical standard was developed for use as the basis for comparison. For this study, 90 major events (Appendix I), occurring over the 26-day span, were isolated for use as the standard. The events chosen are clearly established "facts" of history that are stable and stand as constants—dates, names, and specific acts of persons or groups, for example. The standard was derived from official documents, reports, articles published in national circulation magazines, major speeches by administration officials, and personal observations gained through the author's participation in the crisis as a military public affairs officer.

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No limit on the number of facts was set at the start of research. The objective was to establish a concise historical summary (Appendix II) from which predominant facts could be isolated to be used as the basis for comparing the reporting of the news by the different media.

A second decision was made prior to running the comparison study. In the newspapers to be selected, only those facts contained in front page stories, or the jump page continuance, would be credited. If the entire Dominican story was pushed off page one, then that newspaper would show blank coverage for that day. This arbitrary procedure was deemed necessary for an effective comparison between the time-limited news hole of a television news-cast and the multi-paged newspaper.

The newspapers selected for analysis were The New York Times, Washington Post, and Chicago Tribune. All were represented by on-scene staff correspondents and all serve more than a localized audience. All were available on microfilm at the Wisconsin State Historical Library.

Of interest are the apparent editorial differences of the three newspapers. The <u>Times</u> condemned the United States intervention in what it described as an internal affair of the Dominicans. The <u>Post</u> was, for the most part, uncommitted, while the <u>Tribune</u> hailed the intervention for preventing a second Communist regime in the Caribbean.

In the electronic field the early evening network

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news telecasts were surveyed for the same established period. All networks were represented in Santo Domingo by correspondents and camera crews.

Two of the three networks, the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) and the National Broadcasting Company (NBC), made available, in New York, the original scripts used by Walter Cronkite and Chet Huntley for the period under research. In addition, audio tapes or recordings of the programs were made available to cover the instances when sound-on-film scripts by on-scene correspondents were missing.

The American Broadcasting Company (ABC) did not have the library system of the other two networks and the only records available for research were resumes of the evening news telecasts attached to the news logs of the day. To complicate matters, four logs for the period under study were missing. In order to include ABC-TV in the analysis, two more arbitrary decisions were made. Although ABC offered a television newscast seven nights a week, the analysis was limited to the 76 events occurring during the 22 days that scripts were available. Second, since no better primary source was available, the resumes were given the same weight as the completely documented scripts of the other two networks.

At the time of the crisis, 1965, there were some variations in the length and frequency per week of early

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evening news programs. CBS offered 30 minutes of "Walter Cronkite and the News" five nights a week with no network telecast on Saturdays or Sundays. NEC-TV featured the "Huntley-Brinkley Report" in a 30-minute format and in addition presented 30 minutes of the "Saturday News Index." Peter Jennings of ABC-TV offered a 15-minute program five nights a week and was augmented nationally on both Saturday and Sunday by 15 minutes of the "Bob Young Report."

Mowever, as surveys cited earlier have shown, a significant segment of the public depends primarily on network television as their source of news. Therefore the length and frequency of newscasts becomes irrelevant when the problem is defined as the amount of information offered by one medium as compared to another over the duration of a major news event, in this case the 26-day span of the Dominican crisis.

For this reason the three networks, with the partial exception of ABC noted earlier, were judged on the extent to which they reported all the events of the developed historical standard.

In the research of the networks' news records, notations were made of the amount of directly-related, visual material used. The basis for measurement was total length of time, in minutes and seconds. The purpose was to check a suggested relationship between the amount of visuals and the percentage of reported events.

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#### CHAPTER III

#### RESULTS

Content analysis was used to examine the front pages of the three selected newspapers and the available network television news records. The objective was to determine to what extent the 90 events selected as the historical standard had been offered to the reader or viewer.

Selection of the 1965 Dominican crisis as the news story to be studied received support in that it was given front page placement all 26 days in the Washington Post. 25 days in The New York Times, and 24 days in the Chicago Tribune. In addition, with the exception of the first day of the crisis, April 24, the story was used on all network early evening newscasts every day of the period under study.

The collected data are contained in Appendix I. The results will be presented in two parts corresponding to the two problems described in Chapter I: (1) the relative extent of coverage given an international news story by the front pages of major newspapers and by network television. and (2) the relationship between television's use of visual materials and its reporting of the major points of information of the same story.

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## Newspaper-Television Comparison

Collapsing the data in Appendix I into percentages of events reported (Table 1) shows The New York Times with a high of 87 per cent, reporting 78 of the 90 selected events on the front page or the jump page continuance. The Washington Post reported 85 per cent. The Chicago Tribune, with the crisis on the front page 24 of the 26 days, reported 77 per cent of the selected events. The combined average of the three newspapers shows 83 per cent of the events reported on the front page.

NBC-TV reported 80 per cent (Table 1) of the 90 selected events on 22 half-hour evening newscasts. CBS-TV, with 18 programs of 30 minutes each, reported 61 per cent of the standard. ABC-TV, offering a 15-minute newscast seven nights a week, also reported 61 per cent of the 76 events occurring over the 22 days that ABC records were available. The combined average of the three networks shows 68 per cent of the selected events reported on the early evening newscasts.

There is almost no difference between the percentage of events reported by the <u>Times</u> and the <u>Post</u>. While the 77 per cent reporting figure of the <u>Tribune</u> is slightly lower than that of the other newspapers, the combined reporting average of 83 per cent indicates a high degree of consensus of news judgments.

Greater differences existed among television networks

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TABLE 1

EXTENT TO WHICH THREE MAJOR NEWSPAPERS AND THE THREE TELEVISION NETWORKS REPORTED SELECTED EVENTS OF A MAJOR INTERNATIONAL NEWS STORY,
THE 1965 DOMINICAN CRISIS

	Extent to	Which Cris	is Reported
Media	Percentage of Events Reported		Newscasts
Newspapers			
New York Times Chicago Tribune Washington Post	87% 77% 85%	90 90 90	26 26 26
Combined	83%	000-000	east year
Television Networks			
ABC-TV CBS-TV NBC-TV	61% 61% 80%	76 90 90	26* 18 22
Combined	68%	949-949	900 cmp

<sup>\*</sup>Records not available at ABC-TV for four of these newscasts.

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in their coverage. NBC's high of 80 per cent compared favorably to the reporting percentages of the three newspapers. (Table 1) However, when compared with the 61 per cent reporting averages of the other two networks, NBC's percentage is considerably higher.

A sizable difference appears in the comparison of the average per cent of events reported on the front page (83%) versus the average per cent reported on network evening newscasts (68%).

## Television's Use of Visual Materials

The networks' records were researched for the amount of film and video tape recordings concerning the Dominican crisis used in each program. The basis for measurement was total length of time, in minutes and seconds, of visual materials directly related in content to the Dominican crisis.

ABC used a total of 25 minutes and 46 seconds (25:46) of visuals in 19 of its 22 newscasts; NBC used a total of 52:07 of visuals in 18 of 22 newscasts; while CBS used 48:35 of visuals in 14 of 18 newscasts.

There was little evidence of a visuals effect in ABC newscasts. (Table 2) The 19 programs employing visual materials were ranked in order of film usage proceeding from the most to the least in terms of minutes and seconds. They were then collapsed, for comparison purposes, into high, medium, and low usage categories. The objective was

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USE OF VISUAL MATERIALS BY NETWORK TELEVISION AND PERCENTAGE OF SELECTED EVENTS OF A MAJOR NEWS STORY REPORTED

Vi	sual Usage	Events Reported	Number of Events Occurring	Number of Programs	Average Length of Visuals
ABC-TV	en 2 . %.	6.00/	0.3	-	0.37
	High	62%	21	6	2:37
	Medium	52%	21	7	: 59
	Low	67%	21	6	:34
	None	62%	13	3	000 000
CBS-TV		-			
	High	7 3%	15	5	5:11
	Medium	44%	16	5	3:12
	Low	72%	14	4	1:10
	None	94%	15	4	deale decre
NBC-TV					
	High	65%	18	6	4:22
	Medium	90%	21	6	2:38
	Low	95%	21	6	1:35
	None	60%	15	4	000 000

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to study the extent to which the events were reported in each category. There were 21 events that occurred on the days of the six newscasts of high film usage, on the days of the seven newscasts of medium film usage, and on the days of the six newscasts of low film usage. The three programs not employing visuals were on days when 13 selected events occurred.

ABC's overall reporting average was 61 per cent. There is almost no difference between this figure and the percentage of events reported on newscasts employing high visual material content (62%) and no visual materials (62%). The percentage of events reported (52%) when film usage was medium was somewhat lower than the percentage (67%) when film usage was low.

The 14 CBS newscasts that employed film or VTR were also ranked in order of usage, then collapsed into high, medium, and low usage categories. (Table 2)

The number of events that occurred on the days of the CBS newscasts in each category was not as constant as that of ABC. However, for the purpose of this study, the difference was not considered relevant. On the dates of the five programs employing a high amount of visuals, 15 selected events occurred, while on the dates of medium usage newscasts, 16 events occurred. The four low visual usage programs were aired on dates when a total of 14 events happened and, during the four program days when no

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visuals were employed, 15 events occurred.

CBS's overall reporting average was 61 per cent of the 90 events selected as the standard. The number of events occurring on the days of broadcasts totaled 60. The difference, 30 events, occurred on the four weekends that CBS had no newscasts scheduled. Only 43 per cent of these were reported.

The most striking reporting percentages of CBS were the low of 44 per cent of events reported with medium length of visuals employed and the high of 94 per cent when no visuals were used. This strongly suggests that CBS tended to give more complete coverage to the news when no visual aids were used. The categories of high usage (73% reported) and low usage (72% reported) were not considered too far out of line when compared to the overall reporting percentage of CBS.

NBC employed some form of visual materials on the Dominican crisis in 18 of the 22 scheduled newscasts over the 26-day period. (Table 2) Again the programs were listed in a rank order of visual usage, then collapsed into high, medium, and low usage categories. The number of events occurring in each category was fairly constant with 18 events on the dates of broadcast of the six programs of high visual content, and 21 events on the dates of the six newscasts of medium usage and the six newscasts of low usage categories. On the dates of the four programs where

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visuals were not used, a maximum of 15 events occurred.

NBC's overall reporting average was 80 per cent of the 90 events selected as the standard. The number of events occurring on the 22 broadcast days totaled 75. The difference, 15 events, occurred on the four Sundays in the 26-day period when NBC had no scheduled news programs. NBC reported 73 per cent of these on Monday evening newscasts.

The reporting percentages of NBC differ markedly. The suggestion that fewer events are covered when more visuals are used is supported when only the 18 newscasts employing visuals are considered. High visual usage programs reported 65 per cent of the events, the medium category reflected 90 per cent coverage of events, and those programs using few visual aids reported 95 per cent of the events.

NBC versus a decrease in film and VTR used would logically conclude with a high reporting percentage rate when no visuals were employed. This was not the case. The reporting percentage when no visuals were used was 60 per cent. This can be considered a basis for refuting the charge that NBC's use of visual materials has a negative relationship to the extent that the network offers its viewers coverage of a "top-interest" news story.

There was no unanimity of specific dates among the networks in any of the categories. As an example, NBC's

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highest use of visuals was on May 6, which in turn was grouped in the low usage category of CBS, while the highest usage program of CBS, May 19, was in the low usage category of NBC.

Days of the week within each category were studied and again there was no trend discernible among the networks. As an example, Wednesdays were the predominant days of the week in the high visuals categories of CBS and ABC, but Fridays were predominant days in the same category for NBC with no Wednesday programs included at all.

The individual segments of film or VTR used by each network were checked to determine to what extent each contributed to the coverage of the historical standard.

The films were not available; however, the description logs and the scripts used were attached as part of the record.

It was then decided, for purposes of this study, to classify the segments of visual materials into two categories: (1) those that directly pertained to the developed standard, and (2) those that did not.

Table 3 shows that in the 19 newscasts where ABC employed visual materials, there were 28 separate segments originating mostly from the United Nations in New York, from Washington, D. C., and from Santo Domingo. Of these, 64% were classified as not pertaining to the standard and included political interviews, Peace Corps publicity, and

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TABLE 3

TELEVISION NETWORK NEWSFILM CONTENT AS IT CONTRIBUTED TO THE COVERAGE OF SELECTED EVENTS OF A MAJOR NEWS STORY

Television	Contributing Segments	Noncontributing Segments	Number of Film Segments	Number of Programs Using Film	Film Segments Per Program
ABC-TV	36%	859	28	19	in e
CBS-TV	**************************************	65%	26	74	6.1
NBC7V	43%	57%	32	18	<u></u>

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editorial analysis of U. S. actions. Most of the segments in this category that originated in Santo Domingo were descriptive of a city at war, showing gun emplacements, street fighting, and interviews with young soldiers and Marines.

Of the 10 remaining segments of ABC film (36%), only four originated from Santo Domingo. Because of airline disruptions and other delays in shipment, the news reported by these four segments was delayed 24 to 96 hours.

CBS had 14 newscasts employing visuals comprised of 26 separate segments. Of these, 17 pieces (65%) were classified as not pertaining to the standard, and they reported the same type of events described earlier. Of the nine remaining segments (35%), six originated from Santo Domingo and reported selected events. These six segments were also delayed in shipment from 24 to 96 hours; however, Walter Cronkite reported three of the events on camera on the day they occurred and then used the redundant portion of film when it arrived.

NBC used 32 segments of film or VTR on 18 newscasts. Eighteen segments (57%) were classified as not pertaining to the standard and were concerned with many of the same topics described earlier. Of the 14 remaining segments (43%), seven originated from Santo Domingo and were aired on arrival in New York, 24 to 72 hours after the reported event occurred.

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The networks differed in their use of news film that originated in Santo Domingo and was delayed in shipment to New York. CBS tended to be redundant by reporting news events on the day they occurred and then airing the delayed newsfilm when it arrived. The other two networks appeared to delay reporting the event until the film arrived, even if the delay was as much as 72 hours.

Finally, the number of newscasts that reported all the events of the day, yet still employed visuals, is considered pertinent to this study. NBC led the three networks with ten newscasts that reported 100 per cent of the events assisted by visuals; second was CBS with five newscasts; and last. ABC with one.

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#### CHAPTER IV

#### SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

In the past two decades, television has demonstrated a remarkable expansion until today there are over 75 million receivers in the United States. Paralleling the growth of the industry has been the growth and maturation of television news.

Studies cited earlier have indicated the growing popularity of television news as a primary source of information for a significant segment of the public, challenging the traditional role of the newspaper. Other studies have compared the credibility of the two media, the total content of the news, and, separately, content analysis of each medium. However, little research has been published which addresses itself to the extent of coverage given a major news event by television in relation to that given by the printed media.

In addition, various leaders of the media have accused television of failing to fully report major news in deference to the use of visual materials. Again, little if any research has been published to give evidence to support or deny these accusations.

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This study was addressed to these two basic problems: (1) the relative extent of coverage given a major news story by network television and by the front pages of major newspapers; and (2) the relationship between the use of visual materials on television and the extent of coverage it gives a major news story.

The method selected as an approach to the problems was content analysis of three major daily newspapers—The New York Times. Washington Post. and Chicago Tribung—and the three network television evening newscasts. The selected event, for which a historical standard was developed for use in comparing the media, was the 1965 Dominican crisis.

Some of the defects recognized in the method included (1) the lack of network consistency, in 1965, in the length and frequency of newscasts offered each week, (2) the lack of organized records maintained by ABC-TV, and (3) the arbitrary selection of the events used as the

Notwithstanding these deficiencies, however, certain results presented by this study are considered significant enough to warrant zeplication using a different and more recent major news event as the comparison standard.

historical standard.

One conclusion drawn from the results obtained by the content analysis of the three newspapers is that a definite consensus of news judgment is indicated. The The case of variety and the control of the case of the

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slightly higher percentage of items carried by the <u>Times</u> could be attributed to the conservative-headlined, eight-column, minimum-photo format of that newspaper's front page. In addition the <u>Times</u> was represented on-scene in Santo Domingo by a staff of two (sometimes three) correspondents while the other two newspapers had one correspondent each.

This consensus of news judgment displayed by the newspapers is lacking among the television networks. The main implication of these data is that the length of the newscast is the prime factor in the extent to which a news event is covered. Of lesser importance is the frequency of newscasts offered each week. NEC, with six half-hour programs per week, surpassed ABC in percentage of events reported in its seven 15-minute programs per week. The low overall average of events reported by CBS appears related more to the lack of weekend newscasts than to the content offered in the 30-minute Walter Cronkite program. The data support the arguments offered by television newsmen for a minimum of a 30-minute network newscast seven nights a week. (The three networks now offer this length and frequency of newscast.)

A comparison of the broadcast and printed media in the extent to which the Dominican crisis was reported points to a definite superiority of the newspapers' front pages over both CBS and ABC newscasts. This difference is

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attributed basically to the length of the ABC newscasts and the frequency of those offered by CES. There is one other factor to be considered, however, in judging network coverage—the use of visual materials.

materials, averaging slightly more than one minute in the 19 programs in which film or VTR was used. This could be considered obvious in that ABC's 15-minute format was half that of the other networks. However, even a proportionate comparison shows ABC using slightly less visuals than NBC, with an average of three minutes, and CBS, with an average of three and a half minutes per half-hour program.

There was no apparent relationship between the use of visual materials by ABC and the extent of coverage given the Dominican crisis. The overall percentage of events reported (61%) is equal to the percentage reported in the 19 programs employing visuals (61%) and to the 62 per cent reporting average of the three programs without visuals.

The film length and number of segments used by ABC in each program were restricted by the 15-minute time limitation of the newscast. However, the fact that only 36 per cent of the film employed contributed directly to reporting the events of the standard is considered noteworthy, since it implies the need for the news program's anchorman. Peter Jennings or Bob Young, to report the major events occurring that day.

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CBS's "Walter Cronkite and the News" used more film and video tape recordings per program, both in length of time and points of origin, than either of the other network newscasts. However, only 35 per cent of the segments of film used contributed to reporting the 90 selected events. Although not systematically analyzed, the author's impression when performing the content analysis was that it appeared Cronkite gave a shorter introduction to the visuals on newscasts in the high and medium visual usage categories than to those in the low usage category. Thus, in the high usage category, the various points of origin, rather than the on-camera reporter, succeeded in reporting 73 per cent of the standard. In the medium usage category, an average of more than three minutes of film per program. Cronkite's introductions still appeared to be brief and the segments of film used had fewer points of origin. Thus, coverage in this category reflected only 44 per cent of the selected events. As the use of visuals decreased, leaving more time for on-camera reporting. Cronkite appeared to give longer introductions. For example, on May 17, a newscast, employing no visual materials, all events were reported that occurred that day including two events that were re-reported the following day when the film arrived from Santo Domingo. The next newscast, May 18, was in the high visual category and only 50 per cent of the events were reported, although a minute segment of the film dealt

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Considering his on-camera reporting, it appeared that with more time available, Cronkite reported more of the day's events; thus the percentage of events reported rose to a 72 per cent average in the low visuals category and 94 per cent when no visuals were employed.

of NBC, it is first necessary to isolate the 18 HuntleyBrinkley newscasts from the four "Saturday News Index"

programs. As stated in Chapter III, 18 NBC newscasts used visuals. Of these, 17 were "The Huntley-Brinkley Report" while three of the four newscasts that employed no visual materials were offered on Saturdays. Turning to the percentage of selected events reported without regard to the use of visuals, Chet Huntley, normally the narrator for the Dominican crisis news, averaged 85 per cent while the four Saturday newscasts, employing a reduced staff, reported only 66 per cent of the events that occurred.

In looking at the relationship between the use of visuals and the coverage of events by NBC, the most noticeable trend is the increasing percentage of events reported as the length of visuals employed decreased. In contrast to Cronkite of CBS, it appeared that Chet Huntley of NBC

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included as many items of importance in his script as time would allow, letting the film segments stand on their own or act as a supplement. Of the 32 film segments employed by NBC, the 43 per cent that contributed to coverage of the standard is a figure only slightly higher than the other two networks.

As less visuals were used by NBC, more of the daily events were reported until reaching the no-visual-usage-reporting percentage (60%). An explanation may be related to the fact that three of the four newscasts in this category were programmed on Saturday.

In summary, evidence has been introduced that bears on the two problems stated in Chapter I. First, on the average, a front page of a major daily newspaper in 1965 offered its reader a greater percentage of the items of importance within a major international news story than did the evening network television newscasts. Studying the television networks individually, the evidence strongly suggests the need for a minimum half-hour newscast seven nights a week, since the lowest reporting networks had as possible drawbacks less frequent (CBS) or shorter (ABC) newscasts than NBC.

Second, a negative relationship is indicated between the use of visual materials and the coverage of news events by at least two of the three television networks. CBS and NBC. Localistic of the county against the property of the county of the count

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More important, however, is the implied role of visual materials suggested by the evidence. Does television news use visual materials to report the major developments of a news story or are such materials more supplementary in content? The evidence introduced (Table 3) categorizes 57-65 per cent of the film segments employed by the networks as non-contributory to the coverage of the selected standard. Obviously the events selected for the standard were not the only major daily events. However, in content, this non-contributory film was for the most part only tangential to major events, regardless of selection criteria.

attention by other researchers through replication, especially in view of today's expanded news coverage by the three networks. Also of interest would be a study of the redundancy of the news reported when film is delayed in shipment such as the delays incurred in the arrival of filmed reports from Vietnam. Are the events of a news story reported on-camera on the day they occur or are the reports delayed until the film arrives? In news stories involving military actions, does the film contribute to the development of the story or is it "excitement" film used only for the film's sake? As the role of television news expands, these and related questions deserve the empirical approach of research.

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APPENDICES

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### APPENDIX I

### WORKSHEETS AND 90 MAJOR ITEMS OF INTEREST

Date: Saturday, April 24, 1965

Major Items of Interest:

- A. Military coup attempted in Santo Demingo
  B. Coup sponsored by supporters of Juan Bosch
- C. Reid declares coup suppressed
- D. Brief Dominican history since Bosch overthrow in 1963

Items	Media							
	Times	Post	Tribune*	ABC-TV	MBC-TV	CBS-TV		
A	×	×	mate edge	ж	×	×		
B	30	×	PHP 600	×	×	×		
C	×	×	ann-step	×	36	400 400		
D	×	×	map mm	spa ma	Head-Happ	100 mp		
Time consumed by TV visuals				0	0	0		
*Used on insid	e pages							

Date: Sunday, April 25, 1965

Major Items of Interest:

- A. Government of Donald Reid Cabral toppled by military coup
- B. New junta splits over return of Bosch
- C. Jose Rafael Molina Urena proclaimed acting President by pro-Bosch faction
- D. Pro and anti-Bosch leaders identified
- E. Dominican Air Force planes strafe city

Items	Media								
	Times	Post	Tribune	ABC-TV	NBC-TV	CBS-TV			
A	ж	×	×	and exp	100 mp	00 FD			
B	×	×	×	30	×	407-000			
C	400 100	x	%	400 400	~~~	4000 0000			
D	30	ж	×	ж	×	×			
E	140-40	×	×	×	×	36			
Time consumed by TV visuals				0	0	0			

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### Date: Monday, April 26, 1965

Major Items of Interest:

- A. U. S. decision to evacuate U. S. nationals from Santo Domingo
- B. Rebels (pro-Bosch faction) distribute arms to citizens
- C. Further strafing of city by Dominican aircraft
- D. U. S. Navy amphibious task force, with embarked Marines, standing by

Items	Media							
	Times	Post	Tribune	ABC-TV	NBC-TV	CBS-TV		
A	×	×	×	×	one one	400 400		
B	ж	ж	ж	400 000	×	×		
C	×	×	x	×	X	ж		
D	×	×	ж	×		×		
Time consumed by TV visuals				:40	0	0		

### Date: Tuesday, April 27, 1965

Major Items of Interest:

- A. Dominican revolt fails as pro-Bosch leaders surrender
- B. U. S. Navy evacuates U. S. citizens
- C. Interim junta to be formed by loyalist military
- D. Recap of rebellion

Items	Media								
	Times	Post	Tribune	ABC-TV	NBC-TV	CBS-TV			
A	×	ж	×	×	×	×			
В	×	×	×	×	26	×			
C	×	×	X	-	×	×			
D Time consumed	×	x	×	-	×	×			
Time consumed by TV visuals				:40	: 28	1:00			

NOTE: "X" indicates item reported

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Date: Wednesday, April 28, 1965

Major Items of Interest:

- A. Rebels reorganize and hold downtown Santo Domingo
- B. 400 U. S. Marines land in Santo Domingo
- C. Council of the Organization of American States (OAS) convenes in Washington, D. C.
- D. President Johnson addresses U. S. public via radio and television giving U. S. position

Items	Media								
	Times	Post	Tribune	ABC-TV	NBC-TV	CBS-TV			
A	x	×	ж	400 000	ж	ж			
B	×	×	26	X	×	×			
C	×	×	×	x	×	×			
D Time consumed	×	×	×	1000 (0.00	×	×			
by TV visuals				0	:56	0			

Date: Thursday, April 29, 1965

Major Items of Interest:

- A. 2,500 U. S. Army troops land in Santo Domingo
- B. Rebels fire on U. S. Embassy
- C. OAS resolution passed calling for cease-fire and establishment of a security zone
- D. First indication of Communist activity in rebel forces

Items	Media								
	Times	Post	Tribune	ABC-TV	NBC-TV	CBS-TV			
A	×	×	×	1000 600	x	×			
B	×	×	×	35	36	30			
C	×	×	×	60FF (60A)	×	×			
D Time consumed	×	ж	×	×	x	ж			
by TV visuals				3:55	2:14	1:30			

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Date: Friday, April 30, 1965

Major Items of Interest:

- A. Cease-fire agreement signed in Santo Domingo
- B. Cease-fire agreement ignored by rebel faction
- C. First U. S. casualties reported
  D. President Johnson's second address to U. S. public

Items	Media					
	Times	Post	Tribune	ABC-TV*	NBC-TV	CBS-TV
A	×	×	×		×	000 000
B	×	×	×		×	
C	x	x	x		×	
D	x	30	×		×	30
Time consumed by TV visuals					3:34	2:55

\*Records not available

Date: Saturday, May 1, 1965

Major Items of Interest:

- A. 2,000 more U. S. troops sent to Santo Domingo
- B. OAS sends five-man peace mission to Santo Domingo
- C. Marines secure International Safety Zone (ISZ) in Santo Domingo
- President Johnson stresses humanitarian aspects of D. U. S. intervention

Items	Media					
	Times	Post	Tribune	ABC-TV*	NBC-TV	CBS-TV
A	×	×	×		×	×
B	×	×	×		×	odb care
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by TV visuals					2:30	0

NOTE: "X" indicates item reported

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Date: Sunday, May 2, 1965

### Major Items of Interest:

- A. President Johnson charges Communist control
- B. Last of U. S. troop buildup moves into Santo Domingo
- C. OAS team establishes second cease-fire agreement
- D. Special Presidential envoy, John B. Martin, arrives in Santo Domingo

Items			Ме	dia		
	Times	Post	Tribune	ABC-TV*	NBC-TV	CBS-TV
A	x	30	×		42	×
B	×	×	x		X	
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D Time consumed	ж	(60) (60)			×	east carb
by TV visuals					0	0
*Records not a	vailabl	.e				

Date: Monday, May 3, 1965

## Major Items of Interest:

- A. OAS Inter-American Peace Force sought by U. S.
- B. USSR charges U. S. of charter violation in UN Security Council
- C. President Johnson restates Communist charges and calls for effective peace prior to U. S. withdrawal
- D. Supply corridor link-up effected by Marines and Army

Items	Media					
	Times	Post	Tribune	ABC-TV	NBC-TV	CBS-TV
A	ж	ж		000 000	×	
В	×	ж	×	×	×	×
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Date: Tuesday, May 4, 1965

Major Items of Interest:

- A. Rebels name Col. Caamano as "Constitutional President"
- B. ISZ expanded four blocks by Marines

Items	Media					MOAMMY ADE-MY		
	Times	Post	Tribune	ABC-TV	NBC-TV	CBS-TV		
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В	ж	-	×	man miles	000.00p			
Time consumed by TV visuals				1:00	5:29	5:40		

Date: Wednesday, May 5, 1965

Major Items of Interest:

- A. OAS approves TAPF
- B. Another cease-fire agreed to by all factions
- C. U. S. releases names of 58 alleged Communists involved in rebel cause
- D. U. S. Marine captured by rebels

Items			Med	lia		C-TV CBS-TV
	Times	Post	Tribune	ABC-TV	NBC-TV	CBS-TV
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В	×	×	×	×	×	×
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Date: Thursday, May 6, 1965

Major Items of Interest:

- A. Four Marines killed in rebel area when medical convoy makes wrong turn
- B. Two U. S. news correspondents wounded by Marines at Santo Domingo checkpoint
- C. Bosch (from San Juan) charges U. S. complicity in loyalist air attacks on Santo Domingo

Items	Media					
	Times	Post	Tribune	ABC-TV	NBC-TV	CBS-TV
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Time consumed						
by TV visuals				2:53	5:37	2:10

Date: Friday, May 7, 1965

Major Items of Interest:

- A. Five-man civilian-military loyalist junta headed by Brig. Gen. Imbert replaces three-man junta
- B. OAS advances plan of three-man OAS trusteeship
- C. OAS hears report from returned five-man peace mission

Items						
	Times	Post	Tribune	ABC-TV	NBC-TV	CBS-TV
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Date: Saturday, May 8, 1965

Major Items of Interest:

- A. Rebels charge new loyalist junta illegal
- B. With cease-fire in effect, one Marine killed and three Army troops wounded
- C. Two hundred rebels surrender weapons
- D. U. S. expresses opposition to both far right and far left governments for Dominican Republic and hope for OAS taking active role in new government formation

Media					
Times	Post	Tribune	ABC-TV	NBC-TV	CBS-TV
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Date: Sunday, May 9, 1965

Major Items of Interest:

- A. Imbert dismisses eight loyalist officers as conciliatory move
- B. Three Navy men captured by rebels
- C. Marines deploy 105 mm. howitzers aimed at city

Items	Media						
	Times	Post	Tribune	ABC-TV	NBC-TV	CBS-TV	
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Date: Monday, May 10, 1965

Major Items of Interest:

- A. Brig. Gen. Wessin agrees to resign and depart Dominican Republic
- B. Wessin retracts resignation decision
- C. OAS votes to extend mandate of Peace Commission

Items			Med	Media			
	Times	Post	Tribune	ABC-TV	NBC-TV	CBS-TV	
A	×	×	×	x	×	×	
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Time consumed by TV visuals				:53	3:52	3:50	

Date: Tuesday, May 11, 1965

Major Items of Interest:

- A. Presidential envoy Martin meets with Caamano
- B. U. S. now advocates coalition government
- C. U. S. opposes UN resolution as prejudiced to OAS authority

Items		Media							
	Times	Post	Tribune	ABC-TV	NBC-TV	CBS-TV			
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Date: Wednesday, May 12, 1965

Major Items of Interest:

- A. OAS votes to postpone Ministers' Conference in Rio de Janerio, Dominican crisis given as reason
- B. OAS mediators meet with both factions in Santo Domingo for settlement negotiation
- C. U. S. Ambassy registers official complaint with rebels on cease-fire violations

Items	Medie						
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Time consumed							
by TV visuals				2:33	3:11	5:15	

Date: Thursday, May 13, 1965

Major Items of Interest:

- A. Loyalist aircraft strafe rebel-held Radio Santo Domingo
- B. Wild shots from strafing aircraft hit near U. S. Embassy
- C. Major loyalist/rebel clash in north sector of city

Items	Media						
	Times	Post	Tribune	ABC-TV	NBC-TV	CBS-TV	
A	ж	×	x	ж	×	ж	
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Date: Friday, May 14, 1965

Major Items of Interest:

- A. UN dispatches fact-finding mission to Santo Domingo
- B. Loyalist ground forces launch all-out attack on Radio Santo Domingo
- C. Honduran troops arrive as first augmentation of IAPF

Media						
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Date: Saturday, May 15, 1965

Major Items of Interest:

- A. Loyalist/rebel clash in northern sector of city grows to major proportions
- B. OAS issues official call to both sides to restore truce
- C. Pacifist groups present demand in Washington for U. S. withdrawal

Items	Media						
	Times	Post	Tribune*	ABC-TV	NBC-TV	CBS-TV	
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NOTE: "X" indicates item reported

\* Used on inside pages

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Date: Sunday, May 16, 1965

Major Items of Interest:

- A. McGeorge Bundy and Thomas Mann arrive in Santo Domingo as part of a four-man Presidential peace team
- B. Imbert urged to resign by U. S. and refuses
- C. Heavy fighting continues with rebel charges of U. S. assistance to loyalists

Items	Media						
	Times	Post	Tribune	ABC-TV	NBC-TV	CBS-TV	
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Date: Monday, May 17, 1965

Major Items of Interest:

- A. U. S. negotiators and Caamano agree on Guzman as coalition leader
- B. Imbert opposes Guzman and again refuses to resign
- C. U. S. offers command of U. S. forces in Dominican Republic to OAS as part of IAPF
- D. Imbert defies OAS plea for cease-fire in north sector of city

Items	Media							
	Times	Post	Tribune	ABC-TV	NBC-TV	CBS-TV		
A	×	ж	ж	X	ж	×		
В	×	×	×	600 cm	30	×		
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#### APPENDIX I (continued)

Date: Tuesday, May 18, 1965

Major Items of Interest:

- A. OAS told U. S. favors broad-based civilian-controlled coalition
- B. UN cease-fire plan recommended, rebels accept, Imbert opposes

Items	Media						
	Times*	Post	Tribune	ABC-TV**NBC-TV	CBS-TV		
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*Used on insi	de pages	5					
**No records a	vailable	9					

Date: Wednesday, May 19, 1965

Major Items of Interest:

- A. OAS peace commission charges UN committee with obstructing attempts for peace
- B. Imbert forces win major victory in north sector fighting
- C. Both factions agree to UN-sponsored truce

Items	Media							
	Times	Post	Tribune	ABC-TV	NBC-TV	CBS-TV		
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#### APPENDIX II

## CHRONOLOGY OF MAJOR EVENTS IN THE

What factors contributed to the political upheaval of a country designed to be a "showcase of democracy"? 1 The Dominican Republic survived 31 years under a merciless dictatorship only to pass through four changes of government in the four-year period following the dictator's assassination. Generalissimo Rafael Leonidas Trutillo Molina was assassinated in May 1961 and his family forced to leave soon thereafter. By 1962, under their new democratic election system, the citizens of the Dominican Republic elected Dr. Juan Bosch as President. Anticipating immediate stability, the people of this potentially wealthy country were soon disappointed. Rumors of growing Communist influences on their poet-novelist President further agitated the situation. After nine months as President. Dr. Bosch was removed by the military hierarchy and replaced by a civilian triumvirate. The membership of the triumvirate changed constantly but in 1964 one figure

<sup>1</sup> Tad Szulc. 30 Days in May: A Dominican Diary. p. 106.

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appeared to dominate, Donald Reid Cabral. Reid, an experienced economist, attempted to bring stability to his country through a financial austerity program and agrarian development. Given time, the program might have succeeded but time was running out.

A second factor to consider is the military, many of whom were holdovers from the Trujillo regime. Some of the senior colonels and generals resented Reid for curtailing certain unwarranted special privileges they had enjoyed and for attempting to end the Trujillo-inspired traditional corruption of the Dominican armed services. The junior officers, who perhaps only tacitly accepted the overthrow of Juan Bosch, now entertained second thoughts on the political course of their country. This led to conspiracies to return the deposed President.

Add to this ferment a nine-month drought in Santo Domingo, a city of nearly 400,000 people, and you have the situation that existed on April 24, 1965.

It was a Saturday and in the late morning a small commercial radio station broadcast a bulletin announcing a revolution and the overthrow of President Donald Reid Cabral. That first announcement was inaccurate and premature but within hours civilian and military rebels captured Radio Santo Domingo, the official Government radio-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

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television station, and announced not only the downfall of the Reid regime but their intention to return Dr. Juan Bosch to power. In addition to Radio Santo Domingo, the Bosch supporters seized two military bases on the outskirts of the city. Loyalist forces, however, easily recaptured the radio station and President Reid gave an ultimatum to the two bases to surrender by 5:00 p.m. that day. Although the 5:00 p.m. deadline was ignored by the rebels, Reid felt confident enough by 10:00 p.m. to announce from the Palace that the situation was under control and the coup suppressed. During the night, however, loyalist and rebel military leaders met and decided the time had come for the ouster of President Reid and a decision was reached to establish a temporary military junta with new elections to be scheduled in six to nine months.

Faced with this fait accompli by his own armed services. Donald Reid Cabral resigned as President about 10:00 a.m. Sunday, April 25. The situation changed again when the younger military officers who had instigated the revolt the previous day occupied the Presidential Palace. Instead of a military junta, they announced their original intention of restoring Dr. Bosch, who was now living in exile in San Juan, Puerto Rico. This swift move led to an instant split within the military, with the loyalist generals furious over what they considered a betrayal.

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Dominating the movement to restore Juan Bosch were two young Army lieutenant colonels, Miguel Angel Hernando Ramirez and Francisco Caamano Deno. Their first act was to swear in a former Bosch cabinet member, Jose Rafael Molina Urena, as Provisional President awaiting the return of Dr. Bosch. Bosch, in San Juan, was anxiously awaiting the arrival of a Dominican aircraft to return him to Santo Domingo.

The loyalist forces were led by Air Force Brigadier General Elias Wessen y Wessin, the commander of San Isidro Air Base, backed by General Atila Luna of the Army.

Reacting swiftly to the developments at the Presidential Palace, Wessin launched his limited force of fighter-bombers, four of which strafed and fired rockets at the Palace, where Molina and his command were established. The remainder, without apparent missions, crisscrossed the city strafing and bombing suspected rebel areas and the civilian population in general.

Anticipating further provocations by Wessin's forces, both by land and air, the rebel military opened the doors of arms repositories and overnight distributed weapons to an estimated 20,000 pro-Bosch civilians in Santo Domingo. Reports also stated that the city's filling stations gave away free gasoline for anti-tank Molotov cocktails.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 18.

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At that point, certain conclusions were being reached at the United States Embassy. Convinced that, while in office, Juan Bosch had been soft on Communists, the Embassy sensed that the intervening years had not changed this attitude. This was especially true for the military attaches at the Embassy, who said Bosch's return would mean "Communism in six months."4 In addition. individuals known to be Communistic-trained were believed to be deeply involved in the rebel orders to arm civilians. Painted signs appeared downtown saying "Weapons for the People" and signed "P.S.P., " initials for the Communist-led Socialist Popular Party. Captured tanks and vehicles drove through the city with the one word "Pueblo" -- the people -painted on their sides. Added to this assumption of an impending Communist takeover was the fact that without United States support the outcome of General Wessin's efforts to overcome the pro-Bosch rebellion was in grave doubt. These two factors, coupled with the United States national objective of protecting American citizens and interests, played a major role in all subsequent United States decisions.

Washington officials who, up to then, had believed the rebellion to be suppressed, were alerted by the Embassy

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 19.

A. A. Berle, "Stitch in Time," Reporter, Vol. 32, May 20, 1965.

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of both the proximity of danger to American lives and to "leftist" takeover of the revolution. 6 Reacting to this implied threat, contingency plans for the Caribbean were readied for activation. Defense Department planning for such contingencies calls for the Navy to maintain an amphibious squadron of six ships with a reinforced battalion of 1,800 Marines embarked, continuously on alert in the Caribbean area. Acting independently, the Navy had sailed this alert force from San Juan to the immediate area of Santo Domingo at the first sign of unrest on April 24. Led by the helicopter carrier, USS Boxer, the task force arrived "on station," over-the-horizon from Santo Domingo, by the following evening. So far this was normal routine for the "Carib Ready PhibRon" but on Monday, April 26, the Department of Defense further alerted a Marine Corps Brigade at Camp Lejeune, the Army's 82nd Airborne Division at Fort Bragg, and other selected ships of the United States Atlantic Fleet.

Monday's activity in Santo Domingo centered around

General Wessin's P-51 fighters strafing city streets plus

further fighter-bomber attacks on the Palace and Radio

Santo Domingo, site of inflammatory rebel broadcasts.

Opposing the aircraft attacks were armed rebel military and

civilians who alternated firing their weapons and ducking

Roland Evans and Robert Novak, Lyndon B. Johnson: The Exercise of Power, pp. 513-514.

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for cover. Although not directly attacking United States property, the armed mobs incited by the radio and television broadcasts looted and burned homes of the ousted Reid regime.

In Washington the tenseness of the situation coupled with the possibility of a Communist takeover presented

President Johnson with alternate plans of action. First was immediate voluntary evacuation of United States citizens from the capital and, second, armed intervention to restore law and order. The President decided that day to implement the first choice immediately, holding the second course of action in reserve.

Acting under orders, the ships of the alerted

Amphibious Squadron closed Santo Domingo and the seaport of

Haina and on Tuesday morning, April 27, began embarking

1,172 United States citizens by helicopter and boat.

Although Marines went ashore in Santo Domingo at this time,

they were members of unarmed communications teams.

By late afternoon on Tuesday, with Wessin's land forces advancing steadily from the east, continued strafing and bombing of the city by the Air Force and the arrival to the west of a loyalist Army regiment from San Cristobal, the scales appeared to be tipping against the rebels.

Added to the rebel feeling of despair was the decision on the part of Commodore Francisco J. Rivera Caminero, commander of the Dominican Navy, to give his support to the

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Wessin forces. The small ships, as a token participation, lobbed three shells into the city in the general direction of the Presidential Palace, where acting President Molina was headquartered.

The Dominican Navy's decision to support the loyalist forces must have been crucial to the rebel plans, for shortly after 5:00 p.m. a group of rebel military and civilian leaders, led by acting President Molina and Colonels Hernando and Caamano, arrived at the United States Embassy, having already requested assistance from the Ambassador in mediating negotiations with General Wessin. Accounts of the visit are vague, inconclusive, and conflicting; however, at the conclusion Mr. Molina departed for the Columbian Embassy, where he requested and received political asylum. Although no agreement was reached, it appeared that the rebellion had collapsed. 7

By the following day, Wednesday, all rebel leaders except Colonel Caamano had gone into asylum at foreign embassies, but, surprisingly, the armed civilians and military downtown continued fighting. To fill the power vacuum at the top, Colonel Caamano had returned to rebel headquarters to reorganize the forces and, if possible, instill new spirit in the movement.

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<sup>7</sup> Szulc, op. cit., p. 34.

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will to win is still unknown but by Wednesday morning it was accomplished. To Embassy observers, it was reported that the rebel forces had been organized by the Communist-controlled political parties of the Dominican Republic, with Caamano remaining the rebel leader. They consolidated the downtown business area, emplacing automatic weapons on roof tops. With minor exceptions, all of downtown Santo Domingo was under rebel control, including all utilities, the telephone exchange, the banks, and the power plant.

This reorganization of rebel forces, with Communist attribution, was reported to Washington by the Ambassador. In mid-afternoon, Colonel Pedro Bartolome Benoit, the recently chosen loyalist-junta President, officially requested United States intervention "for assistance in restoring order." The request, coupled with the Ambassador's stated doubts as to his ability to safeguard United States citizens and property, prompted immediate action from President Johnson. At the time the cable arrived, the President was in meeting with members of the National Security Council. His decision was to land 400 Marines immediately "to give protection to hundreds of Americans . . . and to escort them safely back to this country." Simultaneously the Council of the Organization

<sup>8</sup> Evans, op. cit., p. 514.

Department of State Bulletin, Vol. 52, May 17, 1965, p. 738.

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Evans, ... oi., e. 510.

of American States was urgently convened and briefed on both the situation and the United States reaction to it. At the request of the United States a full OAS Council meeting was scheduled for Friday morning, April 30.

As the Marines were landing, Ambassador Bennett, convinced of the deteriorating situation and the possibility of "another Cuba" in this hemisphere, was recommending even stronger action. Once ashore, the Marines realized the immediacy of war when those assigned to protect the Embassy were fired on by snipers.

Thursday morning, April 29, the remaining 1,300

Marines of the Amphibious Squadron came ashore. By nightfall the Marines were augmented by two battalions of the

82nd Airborne Division, totaling 2,500 paratroopers.

In Washington, the United States Ambassador to the OAS, Ellsworth Bunker, addressed a meeting of the council stressing the danger to not only American citizens but to all foreign citizens in Santo Domingo. He said, "We are not now talking about intruding into the domestic affairs of other countries" but "about the elementary duty to save lives in a situation where there is no authority able to accept responsibility for primary law and order." He pressed the OAS for a vote on an appeal for an immediate

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 740.

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cease-fire and reassured the council that the United States would remain neutral, leaving the choice of candidate for a new Dominican government to the Dominicans. The result was an OAS resolution calling for an immediate cease-fire and the establishment of an international security zone in which all foreign nationals could find protection. United States policy was to be a combination of hemispheric diplomacy and military show of strength to force a cease-fire.

Under the provisions of the OAS resolution, the

Marines went into action Friday morning securing the

western residential area of the city as the International

Security Zone (ISZ). The first United States fatality was

a Marine hit by fire from a sniper near the ISZ. The

airborne soldiers, who had landed at San Isidro to the

east, took over from the buckling loyalist forces and

pushed their way to the Ozama River, incurring four wounded

casualties in the bitter fighting with rebel army units.

The first of many cease-fires was being negotiated in the midst of fighting with Monsignor Clarizio, the Papal Nuncio, and Ambassador Bennett acting as go-betweens.

Their task received impetus with the arrival of President Johnson's personal emissary, former Dominican Ambassador John Bartlow Martin. By late afternoon, forty-eight hours after the first Marine landing, General Wessin and the loyalist junta signed the truce document with a rebel

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representative initialing it for Colonel Caamano.

Even as President Johnson hailed the cease-fire acceptance in a nationally televised speech that evening from Washington, it was obvious to those in Santo Domingo that the firing had not stopped and that the truce, as such, was not to be observed. Also contained in the President's speech, however, was the request for the OAS to assume some of the responsibility for Dominican events. In response to the Presidential request, the OAS Secretary General, Jose A. Mora, left Washington for Santo Domingo, establishing the first OAS presence in the battle-torn city.

May Day, Saturday, showed little adherence to the cease-fire agreement, and at San Isidro two thousand more Airborne troops arrived from Ft. Bragg. But more than troops arrived that day. The OAS Council, having dispatched Secretary General Mora the previous day, followed up by sending a five-man peace commission to Santo Domingo in an attempt to find the formula needed to restore law and order.

The Dominican problem was rapidly becoming an international crisis with charges of United States intervention and countercharges of Communist domination. In the days to follow the Dominican crisis became the focal point in the United Nations, with the Soviet delegate forcing the issue of intervention; in the National Security Council, with the

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threat of another Caribbean Communist coup still a possibility; and in the OAS Council where the United States was strongly recommending the creation of an Inter-American Peace Force (IAPF) to bring about stability to the situation.

The internal political situation in Santo Domingo also had its fluctuations, with Caamano accepting the title of President within the rebel faction and a five-man civilian-military junta, headed by Brigadier General Antonio Imbert, replacing the loyalists' three-man military junta. Both factions claimed total support from the provinces. Imbert, for political as well as conciliatory reasons, agreed to dismiss eight of the more objectionable loyalist officers. This was unacceptable to the rebels, however, since their primary foe, Wessin, was not among the eight.

In the days to follow, sniping within the city continued despite two more cease-fire agreements. On May 13, all pretense at peaceful negotiations was scrapped when the loyalist forces launched an all-out drive in the northern sector of the city determined to erase rebel opposition. As the gunfire in the north gained in intensity, two major political events occurred the next day, May 14. In the United Nations, Secretary General U Thant dispatched a personal representative to Santo Domingo carrying a unanimous resolution calling for a

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strict cease-fire. In addition, two aircraft landed at San Isidro carrying 150 Honduran troops and 20 Costa Rican military policemen, the first contingent of the politically significant Inter-American Feace Force of the OAS.

Heavy fighting between the loyalists and rebels continued for the better part of the following week while conciliatory efforts became more confused. Acting independently, the CAS and United Nations peace commissions were making little headway and on May 16 they were joined by a four-man team appointed by President Johnson and headed by McGeorge Bundy. The Bundy group's mission was to patch together a moderate, broad-based coalition government acceptable to both sides. The candidate selected to head this government was a wealthy, conservative, ex-minister of the Bosch regime, Silvestro Antonio Guzman. The Guzman formula failed because of Imbert's refusal to resign. In addition, Imbert defied calls for a cease-fire when it became obvious to him that his forces were winning in the city's northern sector fighting. On May 18 the Caamano forces retreated behind the ISZ, thus forming an enclave protected on all sides by the newly formed IAPF.

A third cease-fire plan, sponsored by the United Nations and OAS delegates aided by the Red Cross, was agreed to by all concerned on May 19 and went into effect on May 21. Although the agreement was for only a 24-hour truce, it was extended indefinitely, leaving resolution of

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the political situation as the only remaining thorn.

Three months elapsed before the creation, on September 3, of an interim provisional government under Hector Garcia-Godoy, a Dominican career diplomat, and, like Guzman, a former Hinister in the Bosch cabinet. The solution, arrived at by the OAS commission, was from the beginning acceptable to Caamano. Imbert at first refused to retreat from his intention of winning an unconditional surrender from the rebel faction but, when faced with OAS determination to prevent his forces from crossing the ISZ, added to strong economic pressures from the United States, he agreed to accept the provisional regime.

Dr. Garcia-Godoy's primary mission as Provisional President was to prepare his nation for open and free elections to be held within six to nine months. This was accomplished and on June 1, 1966, some 13 months after that first broadcast, Juan Bosch was defeated for President in a landslide victory by Joaquin Balaguer, a moderate rightist. Balaguer's victory, and Bosch's acceptance of it, opened the door to Dominican stability.

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